

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 EA-06 IO-10 ISO-00 ERDA-05 CIAE-00 H-02 INR-07

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FM AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4208

INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BERN

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

AMEMBASSY SAIGON

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, ENRG, MASS, SW

SUBJECT: SWEDISH FOREIGN POLICY DEBATE

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REF: STOCKHOLM 1268

1. SUMMARY: ANNUAL SWEDISH FOREIGN POLICY DEBATE WAS HELD IN SWEDISH PARLIAMENT MARCH 19. PUBLIC AND MEDIA INTEREST IN DEBATE SOMEWHAT GREATER THAN USUAL BECAUSE OF RECENT CONTROVERSY SURROUNDING SWEDISH NEUTRALITY, ALTHOUGH DEBATE ITSELF WAS RATHER LACKLUSTER. GOVERNMENT FOREIGN POLICY STATEMENT DELIVERED BY FOREIGN MINISTER ANDERSSON WAS RATHER BLAND, AND AVOIDED REFERENCE TO TWO CONTROVERSIAL ITEMS I.E. SWEDEN'S MEMBERSHIP IN IEA AND PARTICIPATION IN F-104 REPLACEMENT COMPETITION. HOWEVER, FOLLOWING DEMANDS BY PARTY LEADERS FOR GOVERNMENT'S COMMENT ON THESE ISSUES, COMMERCE MINISTER FELDT SAID GOS WOULD SUPPORT SOLIDARITY FUND BUT COULD NOT BACK FLOOR PRICE. ANDERSSON ANSWER ON GUARANTEES TO FOUR NATO COUNTRIES AMBIGUOUS. SECTION ON VIETNAM WAS RESTRAINED BUT BLAMED THE SAIGON GOVERNMENT "AND THOSE WHO SUPPORT ITS POLICIES" AS RESPONSIBLE FOR CONTINUATION OF CONFLICT. END SUMMARY.

2. SWEDEN'S ANNUAL FOREIGN POLICY DEBATE WAS HELD IN THE PARLIAMENT (RIKSDAG) MARCH 19. INTEREST IN DEBATE WAS SOMEWHAT GREATER THAN IN PAST YEARS DUE TO RECENT CONTROVERSY OVER SWEDEN'S ROLE IN THE INTERNATIONAL ENERGY AGENCY (IEA) AND THE PARTICIPATION IN THE STARFIGHTER REPLACEMENT COMPETITION (REFTEL). INTEREST IN LATTER ISSUE WAS FURTHER STIMULATED BY PUBLICATION ON TELEVISION NIGHT BEFORE OF HERETOFORE SECRET LETTER FROM DEFENSE MINISTER HOLMQVIST TO FOUR NATO COUNTRIES (NETHERLANDS, BELGIUM, NORWAY, AND DENMARK) ASSURING THEM THAT IF THEY CHOSE SWEDISH VIGGEN AS STARFIGHTER REPLACEMENT, GOS WOULD CONTINUE TO ISSUE EXPORT LICENSES EVEN IN TIME OF WAR.

3. GOVERNMENT FOREIGN POLICY STATEMENT, IN KEEPING WITH LACKLUSTER NATURE OF ENTIRE DEBATE, WAS RELATIVELY BLAND. FOREIGN MINISTER ANDERSSON, WHO READ STATEMENT, RANGED OVER WHOLE SPECTRUM OF SWEDISH FOREIGN POLICY, FROM VIETNAM TO DETENTE, BUT AVOIDED REFERENCES TO EITHER VIGGEN OR IEA. MAIN POINTS OF STATEMENT (BEING POUNCHED TO DEPARTMENT) AS FOLLOWS:
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A. DETENTE: DETENTE IS PRAISED AS "FUNDAMENTAL TO THE WORK FOR PEACE," AND FOREIGN MINISTER EXPRESSED HOPE OF GOS THAT IT WOULD CONTINUE. HOWEVER, IN LINE WITH PRIME MINISTER PALME'S FAVORITE THEME RE DANGER TO SMALL COUNTRIES OF A SUPERPOWER CONDOMINIUM, ANDERSSON NOTED THAT DESPITE ITS BENEFITS, DETENTE CONTAINS "PROBLEMS AND RISKS" FOR SMALL STATES, SINCE MATTERS CONCERNING THEM COULD BE "DECIDED ABOVE THEIR HEADS." ACCORDING TO

ANDERSSON, US-SOVIET VLADIVOSTOK AGREEMENT "MADE NO CONTRIBUTION TO REAL DISARMAMENT," SINCE IT PERMITTED "REARMAMENT BY BOTH SIDES TO A CERTAIN LEVEL."

B. CSCE: ANDERSSON EXPRESSED GOS HOPE THAT SECOND PHASE OF CSCE WILL CONCLUDE "WITHIN NEAR FUTURE." ALTHOUGH NOTING THAT DECISION ON HUMAN CONTACTS AND INCREASED INFORMATION ACROSS NATIONAL BORDERS HAVE NOT YET BEEN ACHIEVED, ANDERSSON CAUTIONED THAT CSCE COULD NOT BE EXPECTED TO "ELIMINATE DIFFERENCES DUE TO POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, OR SOCIAL SYSTEMS." CONCERNING FOLLOW-UP TO CSCE, ANDERSSON SAID GOS BELIEVED THAT "NATIONS OF EUROPE SHOULD GATHER AT INTERVALS FOR NEW MEETINGS TO EVALUATE THE RESULTS OF THE COOPERATION THAT HAS BEEN ESTABLISHED AND DRAW UP GUIDELINES FOR THE FUTURE."

C. SWEDISH NEUTRALITY: ANDERSSON ASSERTED THAT FOR SWEDISH NEUTRALITY TO HAVE CREDIBILITY, "OTHER NATIONS MUST HAVE CONFIDENCE IN OUR DETERMINATION AND ABILITY TO FOLLOW OUR CHOSEN PATH CONSISTENTLY," ADDING, "IN OUR OPINION WE ENJOY THAT CONFIDENCE." ACKNOWLEDGING THAT SOMETIMES QUESTIONS WERE RAISED ABROAD ABOUT SWEDISH NEUTRALITY, ANDERSSON SAID GOS PAYS CLOSE ATTENTION TO SUCH REACTIONS, "BUT WE DECIDE OURSELVES FROM CASE TO CASE WHAT THE STRICT APPLICATION OF THESE PRINCIPLES DEMANDS." SWEDISH NEUTRALITY, HE CONTINUED, "WILL BE RESOLUTELY PURSUED."

D. MIDEAST: ANDERSSON REPEATED FAMILIAR SWEDISH POSITION ON MIDEAST I.E., SUPPORT FOR UN RESOLUTIONS, RIGHT OF ISRAEL TO EXIST WITHIN SECURE AND RECOGNIZED BORDERS, WHILE AT SAME TIME ACKNOWLEDGING RIGHT OF THE

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"PALESTINIAN PEOPLE TO HAVE A NATIONAL AND POLITICAL
IDENTITY." ACCORDING TO ANDERSSON, THE PLO "APPEARS TO
BE THE MOST AUTHORITATIVE SPOKESMAN" OF THE PALESTINIAN
ARABS. ALTHOUGH POINTING OUT THAT THE COLLABORATION OF
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THE SUPERPOWERS WAS NECESSARY TO REACH A PEACEFUL SETTLE-
MENT, ANDERSSON CHARGED THAT NATIONS "THAT FURNISH THE
PARTIES WITH MORE AND MORE INCREASINGLY ADVANCED WEAPONS
BEAR A GREAT DEAL OF THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR DELAYING
SUCH A SETTLEMENT."

E. INDOCHINA: IN CONTRAST TO FOREIGN POLICY STATE-
MENTS IN PAST YEARS, THIS YEAR'S GOS STATEMENT ON INDOCHINA
WAS LIMITED TO ONE PAGE (OUT OF TOTAL OF 13) STUCK DEEP IN
MIDDLE OF STATEMENT. WHILE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE CON-
TINUED CONFLICT IN VIETNAM IS ATTRIBUTED TO "THE SAIGON
REGIME AND THOSE WHO SUPPORT ITS POLICIES," REMAINING
COMMENTS ON VIETNAM ARE COUCHED IN INOCUOUS LANGUAGE,
WITH EMPHASIS UPON THE NEED FOR A "POLITICAL SOLUTION,
WHICH GUARANTEES VIETNAM'S NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE AND FREE-
DOM FROM FOREIGN INTERFERENCE...." THERE IS NO EXPLICIT
REFERENCE TO THE US ROLE IN INDOCHINA, ALTHOUGH STATEMENT
ASSERTS THAT "CONTINUED SUPPORT OF THE REGIME IN PHNOM
PENH WILL ONLY PROLONG THE CONFLICT." (THE RELATIVELY
RESTRAINED TREATMENT OF THE INDOCHINA QUESTION IS IN

ACCORDANCE WITH ASSURANCES GIVEN AMBASSADOR THAT THE FOREIGN POLICY STATEMENT WOULD CONTAIN "NOTHING TO WHICH US CAN OBJECT."

F. PORTUGAL: SOMEWHAT SURPRISINGLY, ONLY ONE PARAGRAPH DEVOTE TO PORTUGAL, WHICH HAS RECENTLY BEEN OF KEEN INTEREST TO GOVERNING SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY. ANDERSSON SAID GOS SYMPATHIZES "WITH THE FORCES TRIVING FOR DEMOCRACY AND SOCIAL JUSTICE AND WISH TO GIVE THEM OUR SUPPORT." HE MADE NO REFERENCE TO LAST WEEK'S ABORTIVE COUP IN PORTUGAL OR TO DIFFICULTIES FACING DEMOCRATIC PARTIES IN THAT COUNTRY.

G. UNITED NATIONS: ANDERSSON PRAISED UN FOR ITS "GREAT CONTRIBUTION... IN PRESERVING PEACE AND PROMOTING ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT." HE CLAIMED THAT RECENT CRITICISM OF THE "TYRANNY OF THE MAJORITY" WAS "OVERSHOOTING THE MARK AND MUST BE REFUTED WHEN IT CALLS INTO QUESTION THE PRINCIPLE OF THE SOVEREIGNTY AND EQUALITY OF ALL THE STATES." HOWEVER, ANDERSSON ADDED THAT UN RESOLUTIONS SHOULD "BE THE OUTCOME OF CONSULTATIONS BETWEEN MEMBER STATES AND BE BASED ON ACCORD BETWEEN THEM," SINCE SUCH DECISIONS "HAVE A GREATER IMPACT THEN THOSE THAT AROUSE THE BITTERNESS OF SIGNIFICANT MINORITIES." LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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4. ANDERSSON'S STATEMENT WAS FOLLOWED BY STATEMENTS OF POLITICAL PARTY LEADERS, WHO ASSUMED POSITIONS ALONG PREDICTABLE PARTY LINES. ALL EXCEPT MODERATE (CONSERVATIVE) PART LEADER BOHMAN INSISTED THAT GOVERNMENT CLARIFY ITS STAND ON STARFIGHTER REPLACEMENT COMPETITION. ONLY COMMUNIST SPOKESMAN CHALLENGED SWEDISH PARTICIPATION IN

IEA.

5. CENTER PARTY VICE CHAIRMAN ANTONSSON, WHO LED OFF OPPOSITION RESPONSE, SAID CENTER PARTY CONSIDERS THAT IEA MEMBERSHIP IS IN ACCORDANCE WITH SWEDISH NEUTRALITY, PROVIDED THAT GOS DECIDES ON CASE-BY-CASE BASIS ANY NEW INITIATIVES BY THAT ORGANIZATION. WITH REGARD TO "GUARANTEES" TO FOUR NATO COUNTRIES RE VIGGEN, ANTONSSON SAID GOVERNMENT SHOULD PROVIDE "IMMEDIATE EXPLANATION." HE CAUTIONED AGAINST SACRIFICING PRINCIPLES OF FREE MOVEMENT OF PERSONS AND IDEAS TO "OVEREAGERNESS" TO CONCLUDE CSCE, AND SAID GOS SHOULD HOLD FIRM IN GENEVA ON THIS POINT.

6. MODERATE LEADER BOHMAN BEGAN REMARKS WITH REFERENCE TO FAVORABLE IMPACT OF DETENTE ON "CLOSED SOCIETIES OF IRON CURTAIN COUNTRIES." BOHMAN SAID HE AGREED WITH GOVERNMENT STATEMENT THAT SWEDEN'S POLICY OF NEUTRALITY

WAS BASED ON MAINTAINING STRONG DEFENSE CAPABILITY, BUT WARNED THAT SWEDISH DEFENSE FORCES ARE "MUCH WEAKER" THAN FEW YEARS EARLIER. THE MODERATE LEADER DREW ATTENTION TO SOVIET BASE AT MURMANSK, WHICH HE SAID ENABLES SOVIET FLEET TO CHALLENGE PREVIOUSLY UNCONTESTED US CONTROL OF NORTH ATLANTIC. LIKE ANTONSSON, BOHMAN WARNED AGAINST OVEREAGERNESS TO CONCLUDE CSCE AT EXPENSE OF IMPORTANT PRINCIPLES. HE ASSERTED THAT PORTUGAL CURRENTLY "TOTTERS BETWEEN AUTHORITARIAN AND DEMOCRATIC REGIMES," AND WARNED THAT IF PORTUGAL "DEPARTS FROM DEMOCRATIC ROAD," SWEDISH AID POLICY WOULD HAVE TO BE CHANGED. HE ALSO CAUTIONED AGAINST CONFUSING SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY AIMS IN PORTUGAL WITH INTEREST OF SWEDISH FOREIGN POLICY, ADDING THAT "THE TWO ARE NOT SYNONYMOUS." BOHMAN EMPHASIZED THAT SWEDISH FOREIGN POLICY SHOULD CONCENTRATE ON THE REAL PROBLEMS LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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CONFRONTING THE NATION, SUCH AS EUROPEAN SECURITY POLICY AND PARTICULARLY NORTHERN AREA, INSTEAD OF ON THIRD WORLD ISSUES AS IN PAST YEARS.

7. LIBERAL SPOKESMAN ULISTEN AGREED WITH ANTONSSON THAT MEMBERSHIP IN IEA IS IN ACCORDANCE WITH SWEDISH NEUTRALITY.

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R 201510Z MAR 75
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AS LONG AS THAT ORGANIZATION TOOK NO ACTIONS INCOMPATIBLE
WITH NEUTRALITY. ON EXPORT OF VIGGEN, ULLSTEN SAID
INFORMATION WAS NOT SUFFICIENT AND SAID GOVERNMENT SHOULD
EXPLAIN EXACTLY WHAT GUARANTEES TO NATO NATIONS IMPLIED
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FOR SWEDISH NEUTRALITY. WITH REGARD TO PORTUGAL, ULLSTEN
SAID DANGER NOW IS THAT DICTATORSHIP OF RIGHT IS GOING TO
BE REPLACED BY DICTATORSHIP OF LEFT.

8. RECENTLY ELECTED COMMUNIST PARTY CHAIRMAN LARS WERNER
DEVOTED MUCH OF HIS SPEECH TO DENUNCIATION OF US "NEO-
IMPERIALISM" IN VARIOUS PARTS OF THE WORLD, INCLUDING
INDOCHINA, KOREA, AND CHILE. HE DEMANDED THAT GOS IMMEDI-
ATELY RECOGNIZE PRG. WERNER CHARGED THAT RECENT CRITICISM
OF SWEDISH NEUTRALITY IS WELL FOUNDED ASSERTING THAT
MEMBERSHIP IN IEA AND, EVEN MORE SERIOUSLY, INVOLVEMENT
IN STARFIGHTER COMPETITION, HAD GIVEN "WESTERN ACCENT" TO
SWEDISH NEUTRALITY. WERNER DEMANDED THAT GOVERNMENT EXPLAIN
NATURE OF GUARANTEES TO FOUR NATO COUNTRIES.

9. FOREIGN MINISTER THEN RETURNED TO ROSTRUM. NOTHING
THAT COMMERCE MINISTER FELDT WOULD ANSWER QUESTINGS ON
IEA, ANDERSSON FOCUSED ON GUARANTEES GIVEN ON EXPORT OF
VIGGEN. ANDERSSON SEEMED LESS THAN CANDID IN DESCRIBING
GOS POSITION, NOTING THAT UNDER 1971 GUIDELINES, IT IS

POSSIBLE FOR SWEDEN TO CONTINUE PROVIDING WAR MATERIALS TO A COUNTRY EVEN IN TIME OF CONFLICT BUT IMPLIED THAT SUCH WAS NOT THE NATURE OF THE GUARANTEES TO THE FOUR NATO COUNTRIES. IN LATTER CASE, HE ASSERTED, COMPONENTS WOULD BE PROVIDED IN TIME OF PEACE, WHICH RECIPIENT COUNTRIES COULD THEN STOCK FOR POSSIBLE WARTIME USE. (LATER IN DAY, GOVERNMENT RELEASED ANOTHER PREVIOUSLY SECRET LETTER, FROM DEPUTY DEFENSE MINISTER ULF LARSSON, STATING THAT GOS "IS PREPARED TO GUARANTEE THAT EXPORT LICENSES BE ISSUED EVEN DURING PERIODS OF TENSION OR IN CASE OF WAR FOR ALL PARTS OF THE EUROFIGHTER PRODUCED IN SWEDEN" WITH CAVEAT THAT SWEDEN WOULD ADHERE TO UN DECISION BANNING SUCH EXPORTS.) ANDERSSON ACKNOWLEDGED THAT VIGGEN HAD SUBSTANTIAL AMOUNT OF FOREIGN COMPONENTS, INCLUDING AMERICAN. THIS TYPE OF INTERCHANGE, ANDERSSON CONTINUED, IS NECESSARY IF SWEDEN IS TO REMAIN ABREAST OF TECHNOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENTS.

10. COMMERCE MINISTER FELDT, RESPONDING TO QUESTIONS ON IEA, SAID FOREIGN POLICY COUNCIL HAD DECIDED THAT SWEDEN COULD SUPPORT 25 BILLION DOLLAR SOLIDARITY FUND, BUT DID LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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NOT FAVOR A "FLOOR PRICE" FOR OIL. WHILE ACKNOWLEDGING THAT PARTICIPATION IN THE SOLIDARITY FUND "COULD BIND OUR MONETARY RESOURCES," AT SAME TIME IT AMOUNTED TO "A CERTAIN SECURITY ON OUR PART IF A TEMPORARY AND UNEXPECTED DETERIORATION SHOULD OCCUR IN THE SWEDISH BALANCE OF TRADE SITUATION." FELDT ADDED THAT THROUGH SUCH PARTICIPATION, SWEDEN WOULD HAVE ACCESS TO THE FINANCIAL RESOURCES OF THE FUND AND THUS "FACILITATE OUR BORROWING ON THE FOREIGN CAPITAL MARKET."

11. COMMENT: ALTHOUGH THE MARCH 19 SESSION HAD BEEN BILLED AS THE OCCASION FOR A MAJOR FOREIGN POLICY DEBATE, THERE WAS LITTLE ACTUAL "DEBATE" IN THE RIKSDAG OTHER THAN THE EXCHANGES ON THE VIGGEN AND IEA QUESTIONS. FOR THE MOST PART, THE GOVERNMENT AND THE VARIOUS PARTIES SET FORTH THEIR RESPECTIVE VIEWS ON FOREIGN POLICY, WITH LITTLE FOLLOW-UP DISCUSSION AND WITH NO SYNTHESIS EMERGING FROM THE DAY-LONG ACTIVITIES. THE DEBATE ADHERED TO THE SWEDISH DISTASTE FOR CONFRONTATION, AND WAS MORE IN THE TRADITION OF AN OBLIGATORY RITUAL THAN THE KIND OF GIVE-AND-TAKE DEBATE OF SOME OTHER WESTERN PARLIAMENTS. THIS MAY HAVE BEEN UNAVOIDABLE, IN VIEW OF THE FACT THAT THE FOREIGN POLICY COUNCIL--IN WHICH ALL PARTY LEADERS EXCEPT THE COMMUNISTS PARTICIPATE--HAD ALREADY MADE THE CRUCIAL DECISIONS ON MARCH 14, SO THAT THE "FOREIGN POLICY DEBATE" WAS SOMEWHAT OF AN ANTI-CLIMAX (REFTEL).
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